



Negotiations over the future of South African-controlled Namibia remain deadlocked . . . see page 5.

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AFRICA NEWS

**A WEEKLY DIGEST OF
AFRICAN AFFAIRS**

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ZIMBABWEAN OPINION STILL UNTESTED

[AN] Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith is staking his hopes for the internal settlement announced last week in Salisbury on the popularity of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who signed the provisional accord with Smith, Ndabaningi Sithole and Jeremiah Chirau.

Muzorewa successfully challenged Smith in 1971 by mobilizing public opinion against an agreement Smith had worked out with colonial power Great Britain. Now as then, however, the response of the country's 96% black majority is less a matter of the popular appeal of personalities than the contents of the proposed settlement.

On Sunday, three days before the agreement was announced, supporters of Muzorewa's United African National Council gathered in Salisbury to encourage the Bishop to maintain his opposition to granting whites 28 seats in a 100-member parliament. Twenty-eight, however, is the number agreed to in the accord, and Muzorewa's only apparent victory was to get eight of the 28 elected by both black and white voters. All eight will be nominated by Smith's Rhodesian Front Party, and the other 20 will be elected exclusively by whites.

Other provisions, which critics say amount to a continuance of minority rule, include maintenance of the Rhodesian army and police and the independence of the judiciary and civil service from control by the black-dominated government.

Included in the question of public reaction to the proposed settlement is the response of Zimbabwean guerrillas. All three Africans who signed the accord say the guerrillas will give up fighting, even though their representatives in the Patriotic Front, who were excluded from the Salisbury negotiations, have rejected the deal. (For U.S. reaction, see page 12.)

U.S. WALKS TIGHTROPE IN HORN DIPLOMACY

[AN] Stressing U.S. "neutrality" in the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, President Carter warned in an interview released Friday that if Ethiopian troops crossed the border into Somalia, the U.S. would regard it as a serious threat. He also stressed, however, the U.S. view that Somali troops should withdraw from the Ogaden region, internationally recognized as Ethiopian territory.

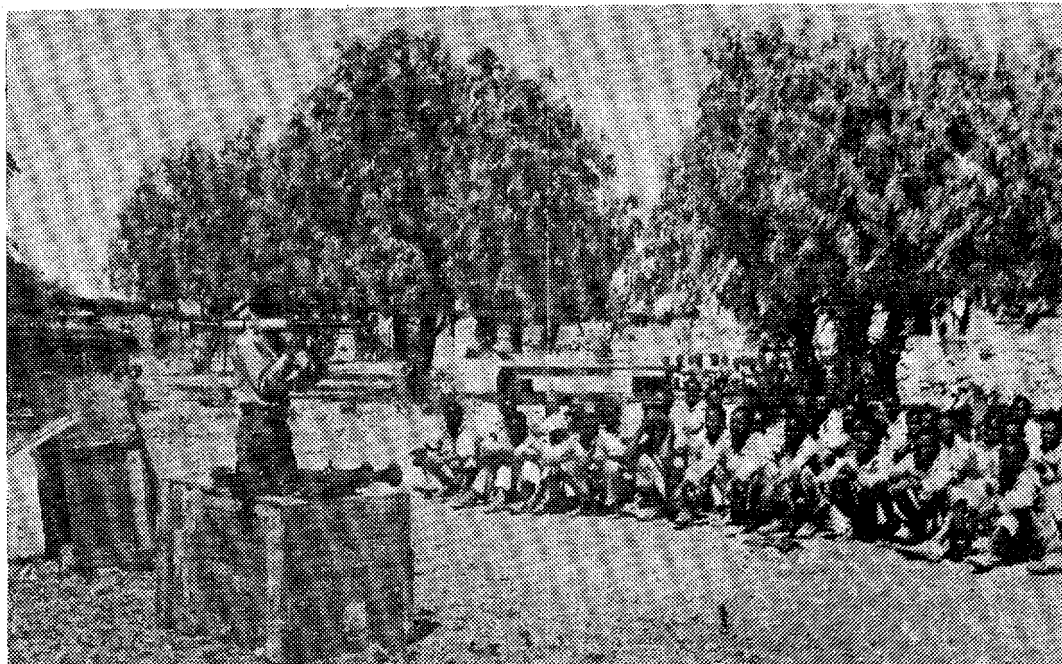
Late last week a delegation headed by David Aaron, deputy director of the National Security Council, was dispatched on a special mission to Ethiopia to explain the U.S. position.

The U.S. has taken the official position that no arms would be sold directly or indirectly to Somalia to support the war inside Ethiopia. As a consequence the Somali Republic, whose troops bolster the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in its efforts to oust Ethiopian rule, has failed to win sufficient military support to replace its cutoff Soviet supplies.

Among the reasons for Western hesitancy to grant full backing to Somalia are the lineup of both Israel and Kenya on the side of Ethiopia, the reluctance of most African states to set a precedent for the alteration of boundaries, and U.S. hopes of winning influence with some future Ethiopian government.

The present government there, however, is more impressed by the aid that is reaching Somalia than declarations of neutrality. A variety of armament has reached Somalia from Egypt and other Arab sources.

The Aaron delegation is evidently intended to convince the Ethiopian government of U.S. tolerance of the reconquest of the Ogaden, but also to stress the warning against crossing the border and reiterate opposition to the heavy Soviet and Cuban presence.



A soldier of the Western Somalia Liberation Front instructs volunteers near Jijiga. / West Africa

OGADEN LEADER SPEAKS

[AN] The outcome of the escalating conflict in the Horn of Africa hinges in large part on the armies of the states of Ethiopia and Somalia, and the military assistance reaching them from other powers. But any political resolution must also reckon with sentiment in the contested areas. One voice is Abdellahi Hassan Mahamud, Secretary General of the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF), who in an interview with West Africa magazine on January 25 spoke of the Front's aspirations:

The history of the Western Somalia National Liberation Movement goes back to the struggles of the whole Somali Nation starting from the

[sixteenth century] and the exciting days which led to the independence of the Somali Republic. This has not been isolated from later struggles. [It is] part of the well-known Somali history of resistance against colonialism.

Our national liberation struggle was and is a product of the Abyssinian [Ethiopian] colonial system. Our people had suffered so much under Ethiopian imperialism that they were condemned to total ignorance, to disease and to hunger. This led to the uprising of the masses so that they could regain their dignity and live a better life.

Since the dawn of liberation in the areas from which the Ethiopians have been evicted, a total change has come. Although the war continues and the enemy does not spare any

aggressive measure, yet the people are feeling a sense of liberation which they never felt from the time the colonialists came.

As far as the military situation is concerned on the battlefield--I must say that the Soviet Union and its allies have sent massive supplies of sophisticated weapons to suppress our national liberation movement. Yet, in spite of the fact that they have dispatched thousands of mercenary troops to fight side by side with Ethiopians against our national liberation forces, we are confident that victory will be ours.

ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS TAKE AIM AT DAVIS CUP

[AN] Pressure is building against South Africa's participation in the North American Zone finals of Davis Cup tennis competition, despite South Africa's eleventh hour appointment of a mixed-race student to its team.

Last week South Africa named Vanderbilt University junior David Lamb, a South African Coloured, to a spot on the squad, although he is not expected to be one of the four players who will actually meet the Americans on the courts.

The Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa, a U.S. group which includes the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Committee on Africa and the National Urban League, met last Wednesday with U.S. Tennis Association officials, but failed to persuade them to call off play. Officials argued privately that while they do not want to risk suspension from the Davis Cup for defaulting, they have asked South Africa to withdraw voluntarily from next year's competition.

South Africa's relationship with the Davis Cup federation has been a stormy one, which included a suspension during the 1970-71 sea-

son, and the capture of the Cup by default in 1974 when India refused to play South Africa in the finals.

Demonstrations against this year's North American finals have already begun at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, where they are to be held. The NAACP estimates that as many as 40,000 protesters may be on hand for the matches on March 17, 18, and 19.

Action is likely to be spurred by a conference of anti-apartheid activists planned for March 10-12 at Nashville's Meharry Medical College. The meeting place was changed from Northwestern University in Illinois as Davis Cup protests mounted last week.

Apartheid Opponents Attacked

Meanwhile, known opponents of South Africa's racial policies are facing growing harassment both inside and outside South Africa. The *Washington Star* says a Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reporter has catalogued 1,600 inci-

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AFRICA NEWS SPECIAL:

Settlements Dossier
Part I:

NAMIBIA

[AN] One of the Carter administration's first foreign policy moves after Inauguration Day was to abandon Henry Kissinger's single-handed shuttle diplomacy in favor of coordinated Western efforts to defuse the crises of the African region.

Kissinger's attempt to shape a compromise on Namibia (South West Africa) had ended in confrontation the previous October. At that time Britain, France and the U.S. triple-vetoed three resolutions in the United Nations Security Council which would have imposed sanctions against South Africa for its failure to cede control over Namibia.

To get negotiations going once again, the U.S. asked four other Security Council members—Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada—to work jointly on bringing together South Africa and the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the nationalist movement recognized by the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

As a result, diplomats from these Western powers—known in UN parlance as the 'Contact Group' and familiar to South Africans as the 'Gang of Five'—have engaged in their own brand of shuttle diplomacy, traveling between New York and various African capitals to meet with the South African government, the African front-line states (Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique), and SWAPO.

Largely arid and with only about one million people, Namibia might seem an unlikely focus for such high-powered international action. But as key officials in the administration were quick to argue, the stakes in Namibia, are high.

For one thing the territory boasts an alluring array of minerals, including copper, lead, zinc, gem diamonds and uranium, all of which are vital to Western economies. But even more important to Western strategists is Namibia's pivotal position in the ideological contest for southern Africa. Administration officials fear that a "spill-over effect" would result from all-out war between white-ruled South Africa and SWAPO—all the more so in view of the liberation movement's powerful allies: the Soviet Union, Cuba, the OAU, and several east European states.

The Contact Group's efforts to avert such a showdown culminated last week in a long-awaited New York meeting. There, foreign ministers of the five Western powers, held separate discussions with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha. Though the chief adversaries never met face-to-face, the New York negotiations brought them physically closer than previous consultations had, so the sessions were dubbed "proximity talks."

Whether the two sides are now closer to a settlement remains questionable. After two days of preliminary consultations and one day of discussion with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the British, French, West German and Canadian Foreign Ministers, Botha walked out of the talks to seek further instructions from his government.

This week, *AFRICA NEWS* provides an inside look at the Namibia negotiations by presenting the Contact Group's proposals for a settlement, the Security Council resolution which forms the basis of the current negotiations, and a summary of the issues which stand in the way of an agreement.

PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION

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The Contact Group's proposals, excerpted here, provided the working paper for the New York sessions involving South Africa and SWAPO. AFRICA NEWS last week obtained a copy of the document, which has not been made public.

I. INTRODUCTION

- Bearing in mind their responsibilities as members of the Security Council of the United Nations, the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States have consulted with the various parties involved with the Namibian situation with a view to encouraging agreement on the transfer of authority in Namibia to an independent government in accordance with Resolution 385, adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 30 January 1976.

- . . . The key to an internationally acceptable transition to independence is: free elections for the whole of Namibia as one political entity with appropriate United Nations supervision and control. . . .

- The purpose of the electoral process is to elect representatives to a Namibian Constituent Assembly which will draw up and adopt the Constitution for an independent and sovereign Namibia. Authority would be transferred during 1978 to the Government of Namibia.

- . . . Our Governments believe that this proposal provides an effective basis for implementing Resolution 385 while taking adequate account of the interests of all parties involved. In carrying out his responsibilities, the [United Nations] Special Representative [for Namibia] will deal with the official appointed by South Africa (the Administrator General) to ensure the orderly transition to independence.

This working arrangement shall in no way constitute recognition of the South African presence in, and administration of, Namibia.

II. THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

- In accordance with Security Council Resolution 385, free elections will be held to enable



Black workers take a lunch break outside a fish factory, make the outcome of the dispute over this seaport's st

the people of Namibia to freely and fairly determine their own future. . . . [T]he United Nations Special Representative [to be appointed by the Secretary General] will have to satisfy himself as to the fairness and appropriateness of all aspects of the political process at each stage. In the discharge of his duties, he will have at his disposal a substantial civilian section of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group [UNTAG].

- Elections will be held to select a Constituent Assembly which will adopt a Constitution for an independent Namibia. . . . Every adult person who is determined to be a Namibian citizen will be eligible, without discrimination or fear of intimidation from any source, to vote, campaign and stand for election to the Constituent Assembly. Voting will be by secret ballot, with provision for those who cannot read or write. . . . Full freedom of speech, assembly, movement, and press shall be guaranteed. . . .

CONFIDENTIAL

- The following requirements will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of the United Nations Special Representative in order to meet the objective of free and fair elections:

(A) Prior to the beginning of the electoral campaign, the Administrator General will repeal all discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations, or administrative decisions which might abridge or inhibit that objective.

(B) All Namibian political prisoners or political detainees held by the South African authorities will be released . . . and permitted to participate fully and freely in that process . . .

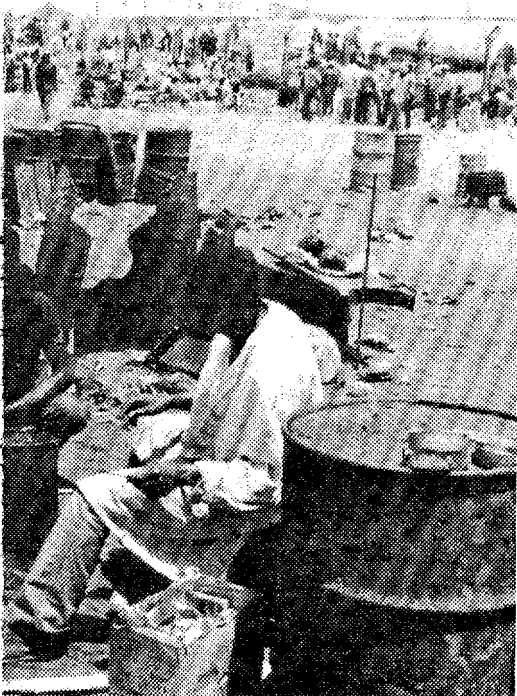
(C) All Namibian refugees or Namibians detained or otherwise outside the territory of Namibia will be permitted to return and participate . . .

- A comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts shall be observed by all parties . . . Annex A describes [these] provisions:

(A) [T]he restriction of South African and SWAPO armed forces to established bases under UN monitoring.

(B) A phased withdrawal from Namibia of all but 1500 South African troops within twelve weeks and prior to the official start of the political campaign. The remaining South African force would be restricted to Grootfontein or Oshivello or both and monitored by United Nations personnel and would be withdrawn after the certification of the election.

(C) The demobilization of the citizen forces,



UN Photo/J. Muller-Schneck

y in Walvis Bay. The rich fishing grounds offshore
atus vital to the future of Namibia.

RESOLUTION 385, adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on January 30, 1976, condemns South Africa's "illegal occupation" of Namibia, its application of "racially discriminatory and repressive laws and practices in Namibia," and its "military build-up" in the territory.

"In order that the people of Namibia be enabled to freely determine their own future," the resolution says, "it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity."

The resolution further demands that

South Africa:

- accept UN authority and the call for elections;
- "take the necessary steps to effect the withdrawal;"
- pending transfer of power, comply with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, free political prisoners, abolish racial and repressive legislation, and allow exiles to return without recrimination.

The Security Council agreed "to remain seized of the matter" and "in the event of non-compliance by South Africa" to consider "appropriate measures."

commandos, and ethnic forces. . . .

(D) A military section of the UNTAG to ensure that the provisions of the agreed solution will be observed by all parties.

(E) Provision will be made for SWAPO personnel outside of the territory to return peacefully to Namibia through designated entry points to participate freely in the political process. . . .

- Primary responsibility for maintaining law and order in Namibia during the transition period shall rest with the existing police forces. The Administrator General, to the satisfaction of the United Nations Special Representative, shall ensure the good conduct of the police forces. . . . The Special Representative shall decide when it is appropriate for United Nations personnel to accompany police forces in the discharge of their duties. . . .

- These transition arrangements and the actions of the parties in carrying them out shall in no way prejudice the territorial claims of any party.

- Neighboring countries shall be requested to ensure to the best of their abilities that the

provisions of the transition arrangements, and the outcome of the election, are respected. They shall also be requested to afford the necessary facilities to the United Nations Special Representative and all United Nations personnel to carry out their assigned functions and to facilitate such measures as may be desirable for ensuring tranquility in the border areas.

WHERE THE TWO SIDES DIFFER

Troop Withdrawal: "The question of security forces," said Foreign Minister Botha on CBS's "Face the Nation," is the outstanding "serious and major problem." South Africa is not happy with the Western proposal which would reduce its troop strength to 1,500 and confine the South African forces to one or two northern Namibian bases, preferring to maintain a troop strength of about 3,000. But South Africa objects less to the numbers than to the restrictions. Botha says without South African troop patrols, the guerrillas can infiltrate the territory and harass the population.

SWAPO wants South African forces further confined—to a base further south at Karasburg. The movement also says South African police must be disarmed and even gun clubs must be shut down. As for its own combatants, Nujoma says SWAPO now “accepts the principle of submitting its own forces to the confinement, surveillance, and monitoring of the UN peace-keeping force.”

UN Presence: That force, says Nujoma, should total 6,000—1,000 civilian administrative personnel, 5,000 military. South Africa is holding out for a smaller UN team.

Walvis Bay: Perhaps the issue most likely to remain unresolved, the status of this port city is regarded as crucial by both parties. The Western plan leaves the matter for resolution by a future Namibian government, but Nujoma says SWAPO cannot accept this.

South Africa claims that since Walvis Bay was a British colony and not part of the German territory of South West Africa, it is now part of the Republic. But until last September, Pretoria administered the city as part of South West Africa.

Vowing to fight for “every inch of Namibia,” Nujoma told reporters that leaving the territory’s only real seaport in South African hands makes Namibia open to blackmail.

UN Authority: Whereas Resolution 385 calls for complete South African withdrawal and total UN takeover, the Contact Group proposals leave administrative powers in the hands of the South African-appointed Administrator General. SWAPO has backed down from its earlier demand that the UN representative assume the top spot, but wants him to have a veto over the Administrator General’s actions.

Future Talks: Nujoma last week expressed a willingness to continue the negotiations and commended the Contact Group for “really making a serious effort.”

Botha also indicated a desire to continue with the talks, denying rumors that South Africa had decided to give up on the Western initiative and proceed with its own settlement. But with differences still so great, many observers believe the white regime will indeed back out of the talks and hand over power to hand-picked tribal leaders.

The Contact Group plans to maintain consultations at the ambassadorial level in Pretoria and will seek South African reaction to a reworked version of its proposals. From there, as one Western diplomat remarked: “The ball is in [South Africa Prime Minister] Vorster’s court, and no one is quite sure how or if he will play it.”

DAVIS CUP *continued from page 4*
dents of right-wing violence against government critics since 1964, and the pace has stepped up dramatically in recent months.

Among those threatened with death or suffering attacks on their house in recent weeks were Illona Kleinschmidt, secretary of attorney Shun Chetty, who represented the family of dead black consciousness leader Steve Biko, and Cosmos Desmond, a former Roman Catholic priest best known for his expose of conditions in resettlement camps for Africans moved out of areas reserved for whites.

University teacher Richard Turner received similar threats before his fatal shooting by unknown assailants in January.

On February 8 a psychologist, Dr. Peter Lambley, fled South Africa after two years of threats. Scotland Yard police officers advised him to be watchful of his own safety in London after his research assistant was found dead in her Cape Town apartment following his departure.

Anti-apartheid activists in Great Britain have for years faced harassment but the first prominent incident in the U.S. occurred last week when Virginia Wesleyan University pro-

fessor Richard Lapchick suffered a hernia and a lacerated kidney during an attack in his office by masked men who called him a "nigger lover." Lapchick had just returned from Nashville, where he participated in preparations for demonstrations against the upcoming Davis Cup matches.

ASIAN CITIZENS UNDER FIRE IN EAST AFRICA

[AN] East and Central African citizens of Asian heritage (mostly Pakistani and Indian) have come under pressure in Malawi, Zambia, and Kenya this month.

In Malawi, President Hastings Banda has given Asian traders until the end of February to move all of their trading posts out of the rural areas and into the towns of Lilongwe, Blantyre, and Zomba. He warned that the traders had been told to move three years ago and any remaining after this month would have their businesses closed by police.

Banda claims the move is not anti-Asian but pro-African. He wants Africans to learn to run businesses and take over the rural trade.

The reverse situation holds in Zambia, where Asians are being pressured to move out of towns into rural areas. President Kaunda has called on Asian citizens to apply their business expertise and financial power to farming ventures that can help Zambia succeed at its goal of agricultural self-reliance.

This month Kaunda berated the Asian community for its poor response, saying it was hypocrisy to call themselves citizens if they continued the corrupt practices of hoarding cash and smuggling it out of the country instead of investing it to develop their adopted nation's agricultural potential.

In Kenya also, Asian traders have been the focal point of a recent flurry. There the prob-

lem is textile smuggling. Millions of dollars worth of illegally imported textiles were seized this month, and the Asian traders involved were accused of evading enough import duties and sales taxes to equal the Health Ministry's budget for development projects.

The swoop also implicated Africans however, especially in the customs department and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry—persons who had signed documents giving false information so the goods could clear customs.

Throughout east and central Africa, Asians play a major role in trade and have had periodic misunderstandings with their governments. Their loyalty has repeatedly been questioned, leading in some instances to expulsions of those who did not choose citizenship.

CHAD INSURGENTS SCORE NEW VICTORIES

[AN] The guerrilla insurgency in northern Chad continues unabated despite a recent government attempt to establish a cease-fire and bring rebel forces into a "government of national unity."

On January 31 soldiers of the Chad National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) shot down two government planes, killing three French military advisors who perished in the wreck. According to a communique from Chad's military regime, the planes were hit by Soviet SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles while flying supplies to the Chadian garrison in the town of Faya-Largeau, some 300 kilometers north of the capital, N'Djamena. (see map, page 11)

The downing of the planes marked the beginning of a new FROLINAT offensive on the northern regional center of Faya-Largeau, which the guerrillas now claim to have surrounded. FROLINAT says it captured nearby Fada early last week, and the fall of Faya-Largeau would give the guerrillas virtually

total control over northern Chad, a region known as Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, or BET.

During their latest offensive FROLINAT officials have refrained from comment on the latest reconciliation effort of Chad's leader, General Felix Malloum, who has promised a truce and constitutional reforms. To this end the military regime signed a peace pact with former rebel leader Hissein Habre, whose desert-based troops held a French archaeologist for over two years before Habre was relieved of his command in the Northern Army. Although the truce grabbed headlines in neighbor states, Habre apparently no longer commands much support within FROLINAT, a movement long hampered by internecine rivalry.

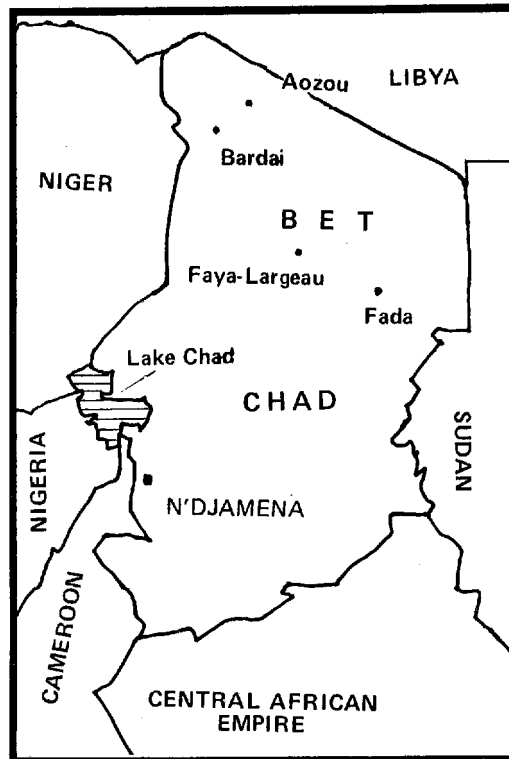
At this point, FROLINAT's major elements are the Second (Northern) Army, under Habre's successor Goukouni Oueddei, and the First Army, now under Malloum Boukar Mahamat.

Mahamat assumed control of the First Army following a FROLINAT congress last August, at which longtime figurehead Abba Siddick was stripped of office by guerrillas who felt he had lost touch with the fighting forces.

The Second Army, FROLINAT's most effective division, has managed to occupy most of the BET region. Mahamat's troops operate primarily in east central Chad, near the Sudanese border.

A so-called Third Army claims control of areas around Lake Chad, and recently kidnapped a 20-year-old French youth and a Swiss citizen traveling with him near the Lake.

Under the command of Aboubakar Mahamat Abdramane, the Third Army is demanding a large cash ransom for the Swiss captive and is pressing for a delivery of military supplies and the withdrawal of all French troops from Chad in return for the French hostage, whom it has threatened to execute.



The Second Army, however, has disassociated itself from the Lake Chad incident, which it describes as "banditry pure and simple." According to the Goukouni wing, Third Army commander Abdramane was expelled from FROLINAT last May and fled to Nigeria to with only a handful of followers.

Whatever the strength of the Lake Chad guerrillas, Malloum's government appears unable to contain the military threat from the north. And to complicate its problems, Libya continues to occupy a strip of desert near Aozou on the Chad border and to cooperate with the guerrillas of Goukouni's army.

Chad broke off diplomatic relations with Libya on February 7, and it is currently presenting a formal complaint against Libya to the UN Security Council.

BITS

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PIECES

CARTER'S NIGERIAN VISIT "DEFINITELY ON": The White House is making preparation for another overseas Presidential trip, and Nigeria is "definitely on the itinerary," an official says. President Carter would like to stop in one or two other African capitals—Tanzania is considered the most likely—but details have not been worked out. The trip is planned for late March or early April.

HIGH LEVEL TALKS ON ZIMBABWE: British and American diplomats are trying to organize international talks on Rhodesia, similar to those just completed on Namibia. Although the effort began several weeks ago, it took on added urgency with last week's announcement of an internal settlement.

Before they can go host the sessions, though, London and Washington have some differences to sort out. Andrew Young, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, quickly denounced the settlement last week, as did a State Department spokesman. But after British Foreign Secretary David Owen termed the agreement "a significant step towards majority rule," the State Department issued a more reserved assessment. Both governments apparently agree that the best solution would be to merge their own efforts, which have involved the Patriotic Front and neighboring African states, with the internal accord, to achieve an internationally-accepted settlement.

NEW VIOLENCE IN GHANA: Opponents of Ghana's 'Union Government' plan have once again found themselves the target of harassment by pro-government forces. A rally of the newly-formed People's Movement for Freedom and Justice was disrupted in Kumasi early this month and three persons were killed in the ensuing fighting.

Police finally dispersed the crowd with tear gas.

The People's Movement claims that the military regime's Union Government plan is a cover for continued army rule.

MOROCCO EXPANDS SOVIET LINKS:

The Moroccan government has agreed to sell the Soviet Union up to 10 million tons of phosphate annually until the year 2008. The multimillion dollar agreement also provides for the Soviets to help open a new phosphate mine in Morocco and to build a railway line to link it with the nearest port at Essaouira.

The new mine and railway are in an area vulnerable to future attacks by POLISARIO guerrillas from Western Sahara, a phosphate-rich territory Morocco is trying to annex. The agreement is further evidence that there is little Soviet sympathy for the Saharan independence movement, despite frequent Western press reports linking the two.

COPPERBELT SECURITY THREATENED:

Government officials imposed a midnight to dawn curfew in Zambia's copper mining region last week after the second walkout in as many months by some 300 white miners. The miners were protesting attacks by armed thugs which in January claimed the lives of one white and one Asian woman, both wives of Roan Consolidated Mines employees. An African employee was also attacked in recent weeks, leading to speculation that the gangs are motivated by money rather than race.

QUARREL OVER HORN: Kenya has released the Egyptian cargo jet it seized last week, and Egypt freed two captured Kenyan planes. Kenya says it will not allow arms supplies for Somalia to pass through its territory.